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ABSTRACT

Growing attention is being given to the part women have played in journalism history, and this paper examines some of the ways in which the methods used in studying women may affect journalism history as a whole and perhaps the ways in which all historical figures are viewed. Noting that insufficient information exists about women printers with respect to the public areas of life and work usually stressed in journalism history, this paper concentrates on areas that have been infrequently studied, including male-female relationships, family structures, marital status, motivations for paid work, personal and social values, and other significant aspects of day-to-day existence. Previous research on five women printers of Colonial New England--Ann Franklin, Sarah Goddard, Margaret Draper, Mary Crouch, and Hannah Watson--is cited to demonstrate how research on private lives illuminates the knowledge of journalism history. (MKM)

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BEYOND INTEGRATION:

POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF THE STUDY OF WOMEN

ON JOURNALISM RESEARCH

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A promising recent development in communications research has been the growing attention given to the part women have played in journalism history. Researchers in this area have uncovered substantial information which has been useful not only to other journalism historians but to those studying the role of women in modern mass media and to scholars in non-journalism areas of history. However, although the need for and value of the study of women participants in journalism history seem to be recognized, the full implications of what is being found have yet to be considered.

This paper will examine some of the ways in which both the new material uncovered and the methods used in studying women may affect journalism history as a whole. It will suggest that the compilation and analysis of new information about women journalists may change the ways in which all historical figures are viewed. Examples from the author's research on women in colonial journalism will be used to illustrate new ways of interpreting and using data which have important implications for much of journalism history. Finally, the paper will propose that new questions be asked about the journalists of the present day.

Two approaches to writing the history of women dominate present-day research. One, sometimes called "compensatory history," concentrates on singling out particular "notable women" and detailing their important accomplishments. The other, which has been labelled "contribution history," requires that women be discussed within historical movements--such as the labor movement or the American Revolutionary War. Their contributions to these (most often male-controlled) movements are then documented.[1]

As the work women have done in journalism is increasingly recognized and researched, these same historical approaches are often chosen. There

are good reasons for this. One is that most journalism historians studying women have been trained in the methods of traditional history; thus they rely on traditional concepts about what makes an individual worth studying.[2] Also important is the fact that a goal of these historians is often to "integrate" women into the journalism history that until recently paid little attention to their work. As a result, women and men must be evaluated by related criteria, most of the questions asked about men must be asked about women, and aspects of male and female lives on which historians focus must be similar.

Yet even as women journalists have been studied from the standpoint of adding their names and accomplishments to standard journalism histories, new historical methods for studying women have been developed. Advancements in the techniques of social history (including the use of sophisticated demographic and economic data), ethnohistory and psychological history have been shown to be particularly useful in the study of women. These techniques have made it possible to draw conclusions about aspects of women's lives which have received little attention in traditional histories. Thus, historians of women have begun to find answers to questions relating to male-female relationships, family structures, marital status, motivations for paid work, personal and social values, and other significant aspects of day-to-day existence.[3]

This author utilized some of these techniques in an earlier study of women in colonial journalism.[4] Significantly, they were used more out of necessity than choice. Because insufficient information existed on the kinds of "public" areas of life and work usually stressed in journalism history, I was forced to seek out material on areas only infrequently studied. For example, information was systematically gathered on my subjects' family ties and responsibilities, early upbringings, economic circumstances,

taking into consideration their private lives. And the resulting increase in secondary materials dealing with this subject has made it easier for historians of unstudied individual women to construct personal contexts for them.

Thus, although this kind of personal reconstruction is difficult, there is little doubt that it is possible. Indeed, this writer's work has revealed how valuable it can be. My study of some of the earliest women participants in journalism--the five women printers of colonial New England--viewed them as participants in both colonial printing and colonial life, examining all known factors which made it possible, desirable and necessary for them to do the work they did.

The subjects of this study were Ann Franklin and Sarah Goddard of Rhode Island, Margaret Draper and Mary Crouch of Massachusetts, and Hannah Watson of Connecticut. These women were studied within a wider framework than that commonly used for male printers of the period. The questions frequently dominating studies of male printers--what did they print and how important was it? did they work for or against the patriot cause? what battles did they fight? did they become wealthy or famous?--proved too limiting in understanding these women. Rather than studying them merely as professionals, they were also seen as daughters, mothers, wives and community members. It became clear that their actions were explained by important concerns beyond work, wars and politics. And an analysis of the complete lives of these women eventually isolated certain personal and environmental forces which seem to have been particularly important in shaping their work as printers.

The following summary of these findings[9] provides strong argument for the need to understand many different aspects of early women journalists' lives. It revealed that, examined both individually and as a group, these

women were decisively influenced by factors having little to do with documented public concerns and much to do with the practicalities of everyday existence. In addition, that so many characteristics or circumstances proved to be either fully or partially shared is evidence that specific personal concerns were key determinants in their becoming printers and succeeding in the trade.

One of the most influential factors in each woman's career was found to be her economic background. Of the five, only Ann Franklin began printing under notably difficult financial circumstances. The other four women were comparatively well off, and evidently they became printers at least in part to preserve that situation.

A related major influence was the social status of these printers. All but Franklin lived the great part of their lives in elevated social circles. This situation provides evidence for the assertion that colonial society was virtually free of prejudice against even upper class working women.[10] Indeed, such women may have had educational, psychological or other advantages which were particularly helpful in business.

Aware of their relatively privileged positions, they may have felt more confident of their worth and places in the world than did children of less fortunate parents. Their futures may also have seemed less constrained than those of many girls, since they did not need to marry out of economic desperation. Rather, they could choose men who offered them interesting, adventurous or otherwise satisfying lives. At the same time, perhaps valuing the kinds of economic and social security they had known as children, all five women married men who seemed likely to do well financially. Sarah Goddard married a well-established physician, while the other four chose husbands who either had already had considerable printing experience or showed great promise.

In short, these printers were unlike the majority of colonial women who knew that they would be fortunate to marry, rear children, and do whatever they could to help their families make ends meet. Instead, they married skilled and ambitious men with promising futures. In the years following their marriages, most were comparatively well-off, and whatever labor they contributed to their husbands' or sons' businesses--again with the exception of Ann Franklin--was not strictly out of economic necessity.

These five were also influenced by their ability to enter a trade that was particularly accessible to women since they could run their businesses without having to personally perform all of the tasks involved. Yet they still encountered restrictions there. All had children living at home, all were politically disenfranchised, and all were barred from the professional training which would have permitted them to become journeymen or master printers and thus choose both the location and terms of their work. In addition, four women became printers under the traumatic circumstances of a husband's death. Factors such as these must be considered in understanding their work.

The women were also limited by their biological capacities as females. They were less physically strong than most males, and their childbearing capabilities meant that maternal responsibilities could divert them from printing. As a rule, they overcame the first limitation by hiring men to run their presses and do other heavy work, and by developing their talents in the less physical aspects of their businesses.[11] They overcame the second limitation by remaining widows or by not becoming printers until the conclusion of their childbearing years. All five lived in urban areas where they could find help in child care and education. Indeed, Ann Franklin and Sarah Goddard are known to have used their children as print shop workers, and the other three may well have done the same.

A high correlation was discovered between each women's printing achievements and her printing preparation and motivation. Those who had worked the longest in print shops before taking over and had had the most time to anticipate their new responsibilities were the most successful and found the trade most satisfying. Hannah Watson proved to be the only one of the five who apparently was not highly motivated to become a printer. She was not emotionally or practically prepared for the immediate assumption of printing responsibilities following her young husband's sudden death. Thus, her short career was more of a holding action than real involvement in the business. In contrast, the other printers likely knew that they would run print shops long before the necessity arose. The printer-husbands of Ann Franklin and Margaret Draper died after long illnesses, Sarah Goddard knew that she would take over her son's shop many months before he left, and Mary Crouch probably had two years to learn the trade.

In other ways, too, Watson deviated from the pattern demonstrated by successful women printers. She was by far the youngest of all the women in this study, beginning her work when she was barely 28 years old. Draper, Crouch and Franklin all began printing under their own names in their early or late forties, and Goddard was in her mid-sixties. It would appear, then, that a certain amount of maturity and experience were required to succeed in the careers these women assumed.

Watson, too, had the greatest number of children and the youngest children (five between the ages of seven years and seven months) when she began printing. Franklin had four under the age of nine, Crouch's two sons were 11 and 13, Draper had only one adopted daughter at least 10 years old, and Goddard's two children were both grown. Particularly in light of her husband's sudden death, Watson's children must have occupied much more of her time and emotions than was the case for the other four women.

Watson was also married the shortest length of time before being widowed--seven years, in contrast to the 12 years for Franklin, and the approximately 20 years each for the other three printers. Consequently, she may have been more interested in remarriage than the others, making her printing career less satisfying than the careers of the other four. Indeed, she was the only woman printer in this study to remarry. On the average, these women outlived their husbands by some 30 years. They shared both good health and, in the case of all but Watson, many years of widowhood. Franklin, Goddard, Draper and Crouch spent over half their adult years as single women--an advantageous position in colonial society, where widows had many legal and economic advantages.[12] Thus, these women's status as widows may have done more than force them to enter printing (in order to support themselves and their families). It may also have provided them with self-confidence and an incentive to persevere in the trade.

This analysis of the similarities and differences in the lives of five colonial women printers makes it clear that certain actions can only be fully explained in terms of their personal circumstances. Their social and economic backgrounds, ages, family situations, emotional needs, self-evaluations, and individual responsibilities all appear to have pushed them into printing and greatly influenced their work. Certainly, their survival as printers also depended on the kinds of political, governmental and community connections and contributions that can often be traced through public documents or their surviving printed work. However, without knowledge of their personal circumstances it would be impossible to completely understand or evaluate their careers.

Many of these similarities and differences were pieced together by drawing on information about the men with whom the women printers lived and

associated. This tactic arose from the sex of my subjects. Women have traditionally been defined--and defined themselves--at least partially in relation to their fathers, husbands and sons. Also, due to the scarcity of hard data on most of these women, a study of the men with whom they lived broadened the knowledge, or at least reasoned inference, which could be gained about the women themselves.

Yet a more important reason for the large parts played by males in the study was that, inevitably, many of the people who most influenced the lives and professional work of these women were males. All five printers took over businesses begun by males, received their printing training from males, and lived with male printers. Emotionally and practically, males were significant actors in their lives. Thus they provide important clues to understanding the five women.

Women printers, though, were hardly unique in being strongly touched by the people and events around them. Male printers too must be considered in the contexts of their upbringings, training experiences, family needs and social and economic circumstances. Information about their friends, families and everyday situations apart from their professions help explain both their work and their personalities.

It might be particularly useful to know the impact of certain women on their lives. How much professional help did a wife, sister, daughter or mother provide? How important was a man's family to him, and was his print shop located in or near his home so that he was near his family during the day? Did particular women provide financial support or useful family connections? Under what circumstances did he marry? Was his home life happy? Did a man's wife encourage his business ambitions?[13]

My own study uncovered considerable information of this type which provides useful insight into the men with whom these women printers interacted.

Evidence on the relationship between the roving printer William Goddard and his mother Sarah, for example, reveals that Sarah helped her son establish his first print shop, rescued him from many risky financial dealings, and provided him with frequent (and very sound) business and journalistic advice. Indeed, it is doubtful that he could have moved from colony to colony in search of a successful career or otherwise sufficiently stabilized his life so that he could concentrate on printing without her extensive help. After Sarah's death her daughter Mary Katherine adopted a similar role, which led to a long printing career of her own.

In return, William seems to have given both his mother and sister little but trouble. Sarah was eventually forced to sell her profitable printing business in the Rhode Island city she loved so that she could move to Philadelphia and help him with difficulties there. Similarly, Mary Katherine, who rescued William's Maryland business and made it possible for him to concentrate on political activities, had to give up the shop to her brother when he tired of politics. These relationships between spoiled son and self-sacrificing mother and between selfish brother and non-demanding sister reveal a good deal about William's character. Without knowledge of them it would be difficult to fully understand many of his political and journalistic problems and victories.

Particular aspects of the Franklin, Draper, Watson and Crouch marriages provide crucial clues for explaining the kinds of pressures these male printers worked under as well as the incentives and the help they received and the rewards in their lives. For example, both James Franklin and Charles Crouch "settled down"--seemingly becoming less willing to challenge authority and more concerned with their own financial situations--after they married and began their families. Similarly, the marriages of Richard Draper

and Ebenezer Watson were simultaneous with significant advancements in their careers, perhaps indicating an important relationship between them. In another area, the estates left by three of these men reveal that they had provided their families with substantial material possessions. In all cases, details about the males' family situations, personal responsibilities and social and economic positions provide useful explanations for some of their public activities.

Yet this kind of information can do more than help explain the actions of certain colonial printers. It can also serve as the basis for noting trends in the kind of people who contributed the most to journalism at one time or over a sustained period. Certainly it would be helpful to know whether the home lives of the most productive journalists tended to be good or bad, and whether domestic concerns suffered or benefited from their successes. How were they viewed socially? Did they worry over money? What specific personal problems did they encounter and how did these affect their work? What were the precise rewards of journalism? What alternative professions were available? Did they enjoy what they did? Did family and friends offer emotional support? Why did they become journalists?

In many cases these kinds of questions will be answered differently for women than for men. This is because women tend to have more non-professional responsibilities and concerns than men, while society generally has been more supportive of working men than of working women.[14] Thus, studies of women point particularly strongly to the need to know the details of an individual's non-work experiences. Yet both male and female journalistic contributions can most completely be described as part of a person's total life.

I believe that journalism history would be greatly enriched by broadening the contexts in which all participants are commonly viewed. Researchers

must be encouraged to think of their subjects as complete human beings, and of journalistic movements or developments as the products of human motivations. Admittedly, such an approach would be accompanied by several problems, the most obvious being difficulty in obtaining personal information about historical figures. Both new examination of existing data and the application of material from other fields would be required. For a while, at least, it would undoubtedly be necessary to hypothesize about the lives of some of the people studied, testing these hypotheses against known facts.

It is also clear that, particularly in the teaching of journalism, the addition of this kind of material might cause the deletion of other information. Yet it is also possible that certain personal details could replace professional ones in explaining an individual. Indeed, perhaps we will need to tell less about a person's public actions when they can be explained by private ones. Alternatively, time or space limitations might require that fewer people be discussed in greater depth, resulting in a better overall feel for the lives and work of journalists during a certain time.

Additionally, it must be noted that journalism history involves far more than the study of specific people. Technological advancements, social change, political and economic trends and many other factors must be examined. No attempt should be made to substitute information on people for information on these extremely significant areas. Yet these same developments may become newly understandable when they are seen as applying to and growing out of individual lives.

The study of modern journalism also could be strongly affected by this approach. Articles about present-day journalists in the popular mass media often discuss journalists' personal lives, particularly when their subjects are female. Women are asked, for example, precisely why and how they became

journalists, how their careers were influenced by childhood experiences, what kinds of personal satisfactions they receive from working, how they feel about their jobs and how their careers affect their personal lives. A great deal is often made of their ages, salaries, marital status, number of children, and particular family demands. The reactions of close relatives also become important: what does a husband think about his wife becoming well-known? what advice did a mother give and what kind of a model was she? how do children react?[15]

These questions are much less frequently asked (or if they are asked, they receive less emphasis) when the subjects are males. The implication is that this kind of information is relatively unimportant for understanding men. Because of this situation, objections have been raised to women being asked and answering questions in these areas. Inclusion of these personal details, it is argued, trivializes the subject and makes her accomplishments appear less substantial. Because she is made to appear more human than her male counterparts, she also appears less professional. If her work as a wife, mother, daughter and friend is stressed equally with her work as a journalist, that paid work appears less significant. The result is a limited, stereotypical view of women.[16]

These criticisms are illustrated by an examination of the press coverage of the fall 1978 appointment of Jane Cahill Pfeiffer as chairman of the board of NBC—making her the highest-ranking woman in American broadcasting. Readers were given extensive details about her marriage, children, health, home, salary, influence of her mother on her career, childhood (even that she had thought of becoming a nun), friends, and feelings about her career.[17] Particular attention was paid to such aspects of her personality as her "refreshing sweetness,"[18] "unassuming demeanor,"[19] and "charming mixture of modesty, forthrightness, enthusiasm."[20]

Certainly all of this information is useful; it helps explain how she attained her position, why she has made certain career choices and produced certain kinds of work, and the kind of NBC executive she is likely to be. But it is unlikely that had Jane Cahill Pfeiffer been a man these aspects of her life would have received much attention. Indeed, a male being promoted to chairman of the board of NBC would have been a very different--and probably less important--kind of news event. Because Jane Pfeiffer's sex was a major part of the news story, the stereotypical sexual associations were almost inevitable.

Rather than asserting that these aspects of a person's life should not be studied, this paper argues that personal questions must be asked of all journalists. We need to know the non-professional circumstances of both Barbara Walters and Walter Cronkite in order to appreciate their decisions, battles, mistakes and contributions.[21] This kind of information should be collected seriously and systematically, in contrast to its most prevalent current use as gossip, sensationalism and trivia. Such material would then be available for future journalism historians.

Some notable recent attempts have been made by journalism researchers to gather and analyze personal data. Again, this is most frequently done in studies which focus on women, but the results provide strong evidence that personal data is vital for understanding women journalists. Thus, Charlene J. Brown, Christine L. Ogan and David H. Weaver have found that women in daily newspaper management tend to be about five years younger on the average than their male counterparts, are less likely to be married and, if they are married, will almost certainly have a husband working outside the home (rather than the "helpmeet spouse" of many males). Fewer female than male managers have children. Women also are more likely than

men to have spouses or parents who are professionals or managers. Comparison between average male and female salaries reveals that females are paid more than 40 per cent less than males, although males and females are equally satisfied with their jobs.[22]

Kathleen L. Endres' telephone sample survey of accredited male and female Washington correspondents resulted in similar data. On the average, females were shown to be eight years younger than males, while only 36 per cent were married, in contrast to 78 per cent of the males, and married female correspondents had half as many children as their male counterparts. Female salaries were only 58 per cent of male salaries.[23]

Vernon Stone's survey of women radio news directors revealed valuable data in another area. In addition to collecting information on his subject's ages, marital status, number of children and salaries, Stone studied their career plans. Over half of his respondents reported that they probably would not take advantage of a career advancement opportunity requiring a move to a distant location, with the most common reason given being a husband's job or other family situation. Three-fourths of the married respondents said that they probably would not consider such a move. Unmarried women were almost twice as likely as married women to aspire to positions in a larger station or larger market.[24]

Quantitative studies such as the three cited above are excellent means of spotting trends in journalists' personal lives and singling out factors which seem to result in certain professional situations. Yet other research techniques are equally useful. For example, Zena Beth McGlashan's in-depth interviews with five women editors and publishers provided insight into specific connections between professional accomplishments and such factors as a woman's marital status, family responsibilities, upbringing, career aspirations and self-confidence.[25]

All four studies illustrate the kinds of personal data which can be gathered, and, more important, the need for gathering it. Without it, a full understanding of why and how these journalists have done their work could not be obtained. With it, it is possible to describe journalism as part of an individual's life, formed by as well as forming key aspects of that life.

In summary, this paper argues that new information on women in journalism history has important implications for how journalism history as a whole should be researched and written. These implications in turn affect how modern journalists should be studied. The author's findings on colonial women printers are evidence for the necessity of understanding the human details in journalists' lives. Data from surveys and descriptive studies of modern women journalists also point to the conclusion that it is not sufficient merely to integrate new materials on women into existing studies. Rather, the methods as well as the results of existing studies must be re-evaluated, and new ways of examining journalism's past and present must be considered.

NOTES

[1]Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges," Feminist Studies 3 (Fall 1975): 5-6. These concepts are placed within a feminist framework in Ann D. Gordon, Mari Jo Buhle and Nancy E. Schrom, "Women in American Society," Radical America 5 (July-August 1971): 11-14.

[2]This trend in women's history as a whole is described in Lerner, p. 8, and in Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman and the New History," Feminist Studies 3 (Fall 1975): 186.

[3]Smith-Rosenberg, pp. 188-96.

[4]Susan Jane Henry, "Notes Toward the Liberation of Journalism History: A Study of Five Women Printers in Colonial America" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1976).

[5]These techniques are described in more detail in Susan Henry, "Colonial Woman Printer as Prototype: Toward a Model for the Study of Minorities," Journalism History 3 (Spring 1976): 20-24.

[6]Hilda Smith, "Feminism and the Methodology of Women's History," in Bernice A. Carroll, ed., Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 372.

[7]Some valuable sources are described in Barbara Sicherman, "Review Essay: American History," Signs 1 (Winter 1975): 461-85.

[8]Significant works are reviewed in Barbara J. Harris, "Recent Work on the History of the Family," Feminist Studies 3 (Spring-Summer 1976): 159-72.

[9]These findings are based on data developed in the work cited in note 4 above.

[10]The claim that upper class women of the period were free to join the working world is made in Daniel Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (N.Y.: Random House, 1958), pp. 186-87, and in Elisabeth Anthony

Dexter, Colonial Women of Affairs (N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), pp. 182-84. Neither writer mentions the possibility that upper class working women were socially accepted because of their class--and in spite of their economic activities.

[11]All but Mary Crouch worked with a young male partner or assistant at some time in their printing careers.

[12]Richard B. Morris, Studies in the History of American Law (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1930), pp. 155-64; Alexander Keyssar, "Widowhood in Eighteenth Century Massachusetts: A Problem in the History of the Family," Perspectives in American History 8 (1974): 100-01, 115-15.

[13]For example, Sheila Ryan Johansson, "'Herstory' as History: A New Field or Another Fad?" in Carroll, pp. 411-12, describes some of the ways in which the work of Victorian art and social critic John Ruskin was influenced by the women surrounding him.

[14]Joan Kelly-Gadol, "The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History," Signs 1 (Summer 1976): 818, makes an interesting observation in this area. She notes that in ranking societies according to whether familial (domestic) activities and public activities are merged in everyday life, or whether they are sharply differentiated. "when familial activities coincide with public or social ones, the status of women is comparable or even superior to that of men."

[15]An extreme--and therefore particularly illustrative--example of this type of writing appears in Bernard Carragher, "Women Reporters: They've Come a Long Way Since Brenda Star," Cosmospolitan, February 1979, pp. 190-93, 202-03.

[16]Descriptions of journalists are not singled out, but the following sources warn against mention of personal details in reporting on women:

"Kissing 'the Girls' Good-Bye," Columbia Journalism Review, May/June 1975, pp. 30-31; Gena Corea, "Writer Says Papers Biased in Covering News of Women," Editor and Publisher, April 21, 1973, pp. 62, 66; Dan G. Drew, "Sex Stereotyping and Reporting," paper presented at the 59th Annual Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism, College Park, Md., 1976, pp. 9-11.

[17]Arthur Woodstone, "Has God Chosen Jane Pfeiffer to Run NBC?" New York, October 23, 1978, pp. 61-64; Judy Flander, "Jane Cahill Pfeiffer: Chairman of the Board of NBC," Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, November 11, 1978, part B, pp. 1-2; Lee Margulies, "NBC's Pfeiffer: She's Ready for the Fray," Los Angeles Times, December 1, 1978, part 4, pp. 1, 16, 17.

[18]Flander, part B, p. 1.

[19]Woodstone, p. 61.

[20]Margulies, part 4, p. 16.

[21]An interesting example of useful information on Walter Cronkite appears in Beverly Grunwald, "Betsy Cronkite: Anchorman's Full-Time Anchorwoman," Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, March 19, 1979, part B, pp. 1, 6. The article reveals that Cronkite's wife "has made a full-time career out of being mother to three children and anchorwoman to CBS's No. 1 anchorman." She has given up the hobbies to which her husband objected, brings him breakfast in his room nearly every morning, drives him to work, in the evening has two different dinners waiting for him to choose from (she'll freeze them if he doesn't come home), and tries to watch him anchor the news every night. It seems likely that this kind of service has helped free him to concentrate on his career.

[22]Charlene J. Brown, Christine L. Ogan and David H. Weaver, "Men and Women in Daily Newspaper Management: Their Characteristics and Advice to Future Managers," paper presented at the 61st Annual Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism, Seattle, 1978.

[23]Kathleen L. Endres, "Capitol Hill Newswomen: A Descriptive Study," Journalism Quarterly 53 (Spring 1976): 132-35.

[24]Vernon A. Stone, "A Survey of News Directors Who Are Women," paper presented at the 59th Annual Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism, College Park, Md., 1976.

[25]Zena Beth McGlashan, "The Evolving Status of Newspaper Women" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Iowa, 1978).